

A cloud of witnesses

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WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION OF ONTARIO

A CLOUD OF WITNESSES

PUBLISHED BY

WORLD LEAGUE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, LL.D., LITT. D. GENERAL SECRETARY, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.



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FOREWORD

This pamphlet is made up entirely of statements from national and state government officials, college presidents and professors, church leaders, outstanding business men, and others, who are competent to speak authoritatively with regard to the policy of prohibition in the United States of America.

The misrepresentations of American prohibition, through publicity agencies and pro-liquor propaganda, in practically every country outside America, call for authoritative information as to the enforcement of prohibition in the United States of America and as to the real results of the prohibition policy.

The emphatic declarations which appear in this pamphlet cannot be brushed aside. They speak for themselves.

This pamphlet is published in the hope that it may serve in some degree, at least, to offset the campaign of misrepresentation of American prohibition now being conducted by the enemies of sobriety on every continent.

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON,
General Secretary,
World League Against Alcoholism.

A Cloud of Witnesses

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING

While I have everlasting faith in our Republic, it would be folly, indeed, to blind ourselves to our problems at home. Abusing the hospitality of our shores are the advocates of revolution, finding their deluded followers among those who take on the habiliments of an American without knowing an American soul. There is the recrudescence of hyphenated Americanism which we thought to have stamped out when we committed the Nation, life and soul, to the World War.

There is a call to make the alien respect our institutions while he accepts our hospitality. There is need to magnify the American viewpoint to the alien who seeks a citizenship among us. There is need to magnify the national viewpoint to Americans throughout the land. More, there is a demand for every living being in the United States to respect and abide by the laws of the Republic. Let men who are rending the moral fiber of the Republic through easy contempt for the Prohibition law, because they think it restricts their personal liberty, remember that they set the example and breed a contempt for law which will ultimately destroy the Republic.

Constitutional Prohibition has been adopted by the Nation. It is the supreme law of the land. In plain speaking, there are conditions relating to its enforcement which savor of nationwide scandal. It is the most demoralizing factor in our public life.

Most of our people assumed that the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment meant the elimination of the question from our politics. On the contrary, it has been so intensified as an issue that many voters are disposed to make all political decisions with reference to this single question. It is distracting the public mind and prejudicing the judgment of the electorate.

The day is unlikely to come when the Eighteenth Amendment will be repealed. The fact may as well be recognized and our course adapted accordingly. If the statutory provisions for its enforcement are contrary to deliberate public opinion, which I do not believe, the rigorous and literal enforcement will concentrate public attention on any requisite modification. Such a course conforms with the law and saves the humiliation of the

CANADIAN W. C. T. U.

Government and the humiliation of our people before the world, and challenges the destructive forces engaged in widespread violation, official corruption, and individual demoralization.

The Eighteenth Amendment involves the concurrent authority of State and Federal Governments for the enforcement of the policy it defines. A certain lack of definiteness, through division of responsibility, is thus introduced. In order to bring about a full understanding of duties and responsibilities as thus distributed, I purpose to invite the governors of the States and Territories, at an early opportunity, to a conference with the Federal Executive authority. Out of the full and free considerations which will thus be possible, it is confidently believed, will emerge a more adequate comprehension of the whole problem and definite policies of National and State cooperation in administering the laws.—President Warren G. Harding. (Extract from an address before Congress, December 8, 1922.)

STATEMENT BY CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

What is the present duty of those of us who opposed the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding the manufacture, transportation, importation, exportation or sale of intoxicating liquor?

Many of us opposed it, not because we thought that proper personal liberty was denied by legal Prohibition, but first because we doubted whether practically Prohibition would prohibit in large, congested communities where local public opinion did not sympathize with the purpose of the law, and second, because to vest the national government with the needed police power and patronage, normally parochial, would so disturb the proper constitutional balance of central and local powers between the Federal and state governments as to imperil the stability of the Union.

Now the Secretary of State has by proclamation declared the adoption of the amendment by action of Congress and the approval of the requisite number of state legislatures. It is now the duty of every good citizen in the premises, no matter what his previous opinion of the wisdom or expediency of the amendment, to urge and vote for all reasonable and practical legislative measures by Congress enacted to secure the enforcement of the amendment. Those who claim that the amendment has not been constitutionally adopted have nothing substantial on which to base their claim. The further argument that the amendment is void because inconsistent with the fundamental constitutional compact as to personal liberty, or reserved power of the states, as, for instance, a change of representation of the states in the Senate would be, is "moonshine."

This is a Democratic government, and the voice of the people, expressed through the machinery provided by the Constitution for its expression and by constitutional majorities, is supreme. Every loyal citizen must obey. This is the fundamental principle of free government. It is this principle which the Bolsheviki are fighting with wholesale assassinations and starvation of their fellow citizens. One who, in the matter of National Prohibition, holds his personal opinion and his claim of personal liberty to be of higher sanction than this overwhelming constitutional expression of the people, is a disciple of practical Bolshevism. Those who oppose passage of practical measures to enforce the amendment, which itself declares the law and gives to Congress the power and duty to enforce it, promote the non-enforcement of this law and the consequent demoralization of all law .- (Extract from an address delivered in January, 1919.)

I am not in favor of amending the Volstead act in respect to the amount of permissible alcohol in beverages. I am not in favor of allowing light wines and beer to be sold under the Eighteenth Amendment. I believe it would defeat the purpose of the amendment. No such distinction as that between wines and beer on the one hand and spirituous liquors on the other is practicable as a police measure. . . Any such loophole as light wines and beer would make the amendment a laughing stock.—(Statement made to the Chicago Tribune, April, 1922.)—William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the

United States.

STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL HARRY M. DAUGHERTY

Respect for law is the one essential fact of our civilization. Without it life, liberty, and property are insecure. Without it

civilization falls back to chaos. If there is one fact history teaches above any other it is that the rights incident to wealth and the rights furnishing the opportunity to enjoy spiritual, intellectual, moral, and social things are conditioned upon the supremacy of law. The Government will endure on the rock of law enforcement or it will perish in the quicksands of lawlessness.—Harry M. Daugherty, Attorney General of the United States. (From an address delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 31, 1921.)

STATEMENT BY ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL GUY D. GOFF

We may bite our chains as we will, but we shall be made to know that man is born to be governed by law, and he that will substitute will in the place of it is an enemy of God.

To have good government we must have good citizens, and always, continuously, a warfare without truce or quarter against those who violate the law. It is strange but true that bad men are combined and good citizens are divided and that therein lies the cause of lawbreaking. If the good would join hands, the lawless could do nothing.

We must legislate and prosecute and drastically punish, but principally we must educate, and practice what we preach.

It is not for an executive, State or Federal, to say whether a law is good or bad. He should enforce it, or confess failure and resign.

Prohibition is not the only law which is difficult to enforce. Any new law which interferes with the so-called personal liberty of the community must pass through the stages of open violation, secret violation, passive enforcement, and then universal observance throughout the land.

The man who can not obey the law, the man who can not fearlessly enforce the law, and with the courage of his convictions bring before our judicial tribunals every dastardly and contemptible crook, no matter how high his rank, has no place in our system.

The law stands, proclaiming, "Thou shalt not break," and when that commandment is broken the Nation should bend its efforts to see that atonement is made. The quickest and surest way of setting any law at naught is to relax its enforcement, while the quickest and surest way of instilling respect for the

law in the hearts of a people is to vigorously press its enforcement.

Our Government and our Constitution are not to be overthrown by the whims or the depravity of those who speculate in public justice and view it as an article of personal favor. The parasites that fatten on crime and live on human sin shall not be permitted to traffic in our liberties and, vulturelike, sink their gorging beaks into our laws.

To-day all mankind is suspicious, doing nothing, playing safe. America must not and will not yield to this condition. Instead, she must be the positive Nation. She will. And she will, I am sure, be positively good.

We have no room for those who would have us exchange our liberty and freedom for isms and licentious license. Such people, as the Attorney General well says, "should go to a country which gives them their peculiar liberty."

The law must be, and it should be, enforced as it is conceived and written, and always without fear or favor. And I bring the pledge that in so far as it lies within the power of the Department of Justice to execute and enforce the law of the land there will be no backward step, no retreat, in preserving the Constitution and carrying out the mandate of the people.—General Guy D. Goff, Assistant Attorney General of the United States. (From an address delivered at Washington, D. C., December 8, 1921.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT FROM THE JUDICIAL SEC-TION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

The judicial section of the American Bar Association venturing to speak for all the judges, wishes to express this warning to the American people: Reverence for law and enforcement of law depend mainly upon the ideals and customs of those who occupy the vantage ground of life in business and society. The people of the United States, by solemn constitutional and statutory enactment, have undertaken to suppress the age-long evil of the liquor traffic. When, for the gratification of their appetites, or the promotion of their interests, lawyers, bankers, great merchants and manufacturers, and social leaders, both men and women, disobey and scoff at this law, or any other law, they are aiding the cause of anarchy and promoting mob violence,

robbery, and homicide; they are sowing dragon's teeth, and they need not be surprised when they find that no judicial or police authority can save our country or humanity from reaping the harvest.—Official Statement from the Judicial Section of the American Bar Association, August 31, 1921.

STATEMENT BY ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES

In regard to your message recently sent through the American Consul, you are informed that Prohibition and the enforcement thereof is not a failure, and the President of the United States has made no such statement. Considering the profound effect on the social and moral life of the American people of Constitutional Prohibition and taking into consideration the organization, extent of territory and the boundaries of the United States, progress has been made in the enforcement of the law. The President and the Treasury Department are naturally concerned with the successful administration of the law, and to this end are desirious of utilizing all facilities possible to accomplish this purpose. With this object in view, it is understood that President Harding contemplates invoking the aid and cooperation of governors of the several states in the enforcement of the law.-Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. (Cablegram to the South African Temperance Alliance, Dec. 29, 1922.)

STATEMENT BY MAJOR ROY A. HAYNES, UNITED STATES PROHIBITION COMMISSIONER

We are at the testing time when every citizen must stand up and be counted for or against the Constitution because the question involved in Prohibition enforcement is whether one is for or against the Constitution of the United States.

It is not enough that a man shall obey the law and enjoy the privileges and blessings secured to him under the law, but it is the duty of the good citizen to constitute himself as far as his abilities permit, a guardian and a defender of the law. He is a short-sighted man who fails to see in the bootlegger of today the spirit of both the anarchist and the bolshevik. . . .

There never was a law enacted by any nation as successfully enforced in its earlier stages as the Prohibition law. If no

further progress were to be made, the victory would remain a great one. . . .

The enforcement machinery has made tremendous progress the country over. Today the organization is functioning admirably.—Major Roy A. Haynes, United States Prohibition Commissioner. (From an address delivered at Columbus, Ohio, February 27, 1923.)

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OHIO

Prohibition in the United States is a great step forward. Taking the country as a whole, there will be no backward step but a constantly increasing certainty of the enforcement of this policy. I am much interested in seeing the leaders from various parts of the world come together to take council for a greater spread of Prohibition. The United States offers an example; it has no policies to force on any other nation. We shall be glad if they find our policies so good that they will join with us.—Frank B. Willis, United States Senator, representing the State of Ohio.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MONTANA

The United States is now, happily, positively committed, through constitutional provision and federal legislation to the cause of Prohibition and it will never go backward in that respect. It is the greatest domestic achievement of the age.

We, who favored it, are satisfied with it. It is not so well enforced as it should be, but in time it will be better enforced. We shall not relax in enforcement. In a few years, the sentiment of the people will cause it to be as well enforced as are most laws.—H. L. Myers, United States Senator, representing the State of Montana.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

The United States has adopted a Prohibition constitutional amendment. I am in favor of its strict enforcement. If I felt that a majority of the people of the United States were against this amendment I would be willing to submit another one to them, but under no other conditions would I consent to any action on the part of Congress looking to either a modification

or evasion of the law.—Charles E. Townsend, United States Senator, representing the State of Michigan.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

The Eighteenth Amendment was duly enacted in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and every man and woman in America is bound by it. Not only is a private citizen bound to obey its terms, but public officials are bound to enforce it. You and I have the right to advocate its repeal, but not the right to violate it as long as it stands.

Neither has a Senator or Congressman any right to vote for any legislation in conflict with its terms. Upon entering into their office each one took a solemn oath to support the Constitution and if he votes for any bill that permits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage he violates his oath of office

I feel very strongly on this subject, not so much from a standpoint of a wet or dry question but from the standpoint of the future of the country, the security of life and property and the progress of our people.

It is our duty as citizens to make this country to an ever increasing degree "a government by the people, of the people and for the people." This does not mean a government by all the people for some of the people, but for all of the people.—Irvine L. Lenroot, United States Senator, representing the State of Wisconsin.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA.

I think Prohibition in the larger sense has been a national benefit, and an advanced step in moral and economic progress. Prohibition is still on trial, but in justice to it every chance to prove its success in connection with the laws enforcing it should be applied as strictly as is compatible with justice to the individual.—Davis Elkins, United States Senator, Representing the State of West Virginia.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM TEXAS

The enforcement of the Prohibition laws throughout the United States may be said to be from ninety to ninety-five per cent efficient. Violations are confined largely to certain centers

where some elements of the population have not yet become reconciled to the permanent advent of Prohibition.

These violations are placed upon the front pages of metropolitan dailies and are given prominence out of all proportion to their real significance. The liquors sold by bootleggers and the products of illicit stills are infinitely small in volume when compared to the hundreds of millions of gallons that poured in destructive torrents across the land when the traffic was legally recognized.

From every quarter come reports of larger savings in the banks, prompter payment of legitimate debts, more and better provision of necessaries and comforts for the mothers and children of America.

Long live Prohibition! Its benefits will become more evident as the years separate us from that era of the nation's shame when misery, poverty and ruin were the sad harvest of a traffic in one of the deadliest poisons known to man.—Morris Sheppard, United States Senator, Representing the State of Texas.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

National Prohibition has come to stay. No amendment to our Constitution has ever been repealed, and the sentiment in favor of Prohibition and the strict enforcement of the Prohibition laws is greater in the country than ever before. The ill effects of prohibitory liquor laws so freely prophesied by opponents of Prohibition have not come true. Of course there are violations of the law, but there are also violations of the law against murder. It is no argument against a law that it is violated. If we repeal all laws that are violated, we will virtually repeal all law.

However, in my judgment the Prohibition laws are being more strictly enforced all the time, as the public sentiment in favor of Prohibition grows, and this sentiment is growing all the time. As time goes on, it will be necessary to amend the enforcement laws so as to obtain better results. In my judgment, the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the United States is that Prohibition is a success, and I am quite sure we will never return to either the open or the secret saloon.—Kenneth McKellar. United States Senator, Representing the State of Tennessee.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

My own State of Virginia already had Prohibition when the amendment was adopted and I am quite sure very few of its citizens would be willing to return to the old order. It stands to reason that a sober nation is both better and more efficient than a tipsy nation; therefore I am unable to explain the state of mind of any person who thinks it is better to imbibe than to avoid intoxicating liquors.—Carter Glass, United States Senator, Representing the State of Virginia.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON

Those who fought Prohibition magnified the evil results that might come from evading the law, in the hope that it might be so discredited as to be repealed. They would better accept the inevitable. The law will stand and be strengthened rather than weakened. Individuals who attempt to evade it will suffer, but as the years go by the benefits of Prohibition will be more and more apparent. These benefits will not appear in large dividends but in better living, purer lives and happier homes, in better clad, better fed and better housed wives, mothers and children, in better men, better women and better citizens.

This law should be fairly and impartially enforced. This will be easier as time goes on and in a few years our people will wonder why Prohibition was so long delayed. The public sentiment for Prohibition will grow with the years. This has been true in the past in those states and localities where they have had Prohibition and it will be true throughout the nation. Prohibition carried in the State of Washington by about 150,000. It would carry today by about 250,000. As it has been there so it will be all over the country.—Wesley L. Jones, United States Senator, Representing the State of Washington.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KANSAS

No fair-minded man can fail to recognize or appreciate the fact that National Prohibition has demonstrated its entire practicability and success. Concrete evidence of it is present on every hand—in the thriving business concerns—stores and offices—now occupying buildings which formerly housed saloons; useful manufacturing plants which have sprung from breweries and distilleries; in the thousands of happy homes once saddened by

drink; in the decrease of drunkenness and crime bred by drunkenness.

There are violations of the law, of course, but no more than could be expected of any other statute as far reaching in its scope. With vigorous efforts to enforce the law during its first years, the situation will continue to show improvement until within a very few years the enforcement of the statute will cease to be a problem at all. Prohibition will be accepted as a matter of course. That was the history of Prohibition in Kansas, where we banished the saloon forty years ago. Sentiment for Prohibition increased with the years.

I have watched the national situation closely and am convinced that sentiment for Prohibition is stronger today than it was on the day the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, and that if the people were asked to vote on the question again the tremendous majority which brought National Prohibition would be exceeded. I can see nothing in the outlook which holds encouragement for the booze interests.—Arthur Capper, United States Senator, Representing the State of Kansas.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MAINE

I represent the State of Maine—one of the first states of the Union to adopt Prohibition. And from the earliest days of dry activities in my state until the victorious culmination in a national law, I have always worked for the cause of temperance. I believe in it whole-heartedly and I never lose a chance to advance its interests.

The benefits of National Prohibition I believe are indisputable. The saving of millions of dollars, the improved conditions among our laboring classes, the cleansing effect throughout our social strata of this embargo on alcoholic liquors is marked.

Of course there is always with us the need for strict watch. Eternal vigilance must be maintained; officials must not relax their efforts nor courts condone offences in violation of the law. But I think public sentiment is increasingly in favor of enforcing the National Prohibition statute.—Bert. M. Fernald, United States Senator, Representing the State of Maine.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MONTANA

National Prohibition in the United States was a great step forward in the progress of good morals, good living and good government. It was one of the greatest achievements of the world and there will be no step backward. The benefits I believe will be incalculable. They will last for all time and grow as time passes.

The enforcement of the law at present, of course, is imperfect. No such great human revolution could be accomplished and immediately work with perfection. It will take time to educate an intelligent public sentiment into observance and enforcement of the law; to build up effective machinery of the government for enforcement purposes and for the punishment of the guilty. This, however, will all increase as time passes. The law is being enforced now in a fair measure but a few years hence it will be much more effectively enforced.

It took generations of earnest work to bring about National Prohibition and it will take some years of earnest work to enforce it as it should be enforced. In doing that, I believe Congress should be of every possible aid. There is much Congress can do and it should be done immediately.—H. L. Myers, United States Senator, Representing the State of Montana.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

The American people were bent on destroying the saloon and its baneful influences, which has been the curse of American society, rather than the strict Prohibition of the sale of all forms of liquor. Fortunately both the saloon and the sale of intoxicating liquor are now things of the past and those who have lived in Prohibition states know the financial advantage that comes to the people of those communities and the benefits that are derived from the strict enforcement of Prohibition legislation. I am more particularly interested in the injury to the human race where the parents are the users of alcoholic liquors than I am in any immediate financial benefits to the individual or community, for I know of no influence that has done more to undermine the health and morals of men and women, lessen their vitality and produce degeneration among many of their offspring and particularly in the second generation than has the immoderate use of alcoholic spirits by the parents.—E. F. Ladd, United States Senator, Representing the State of North Dakota.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON

Upon a close observation, in many parts of the country, of the effects of National Prohibition, it is perfectly evident that the country has derived enormous benefits from the suppression of the liquor traffic. Of course the law has been evaded and violated in many instances, but notwithstanding these violations, the absence of the open saloon has brought about a very great improvement in the lives of our people. This is so much the case that I do not think a proposition to return to the licensed saloon would receive even substantial consideration anywhere in the country. Great masses of people whose means of support were often squandered in the saloon, the weekly pay-check frequently being cashed there and practically all the proceeds spend before the breadwinner of the family even reached his home—now have better clothing and better food and better opportunities to become worthy American citizens.

That the law should be strictly enforced goes without saying. In this question of enforcement, a new consideration enters in addition to the importance of suppressing the liquor traffic, and that is the question of maintaining in this country, respect for the law and that regard for government enactments that are essential to the maintenance of order. In a free country, such as this, the enforcement of the law is of the utmost importance since the government is based upon law rather than upon privilege or upon the discretion of officials, and if the law is stricken down and habits of disorder and violation of the law created, the end is disorder, insecurity of person and property, and the breaking down of all those sanctions of liberty upon which our institutions are based.—Miles Poindexter, United States Senator. Representing the State of Washington.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM GEORGIA

Failure to vigorously and properly enforce the National Prohibition laws will cause laxness in the observance and enforcement of other laws. That would be a very bad tendency and would bring harm to our people and our government. It is my observation that the sentiment in favor of real Prohibition is increasing every day, and that a vast majority of the people would oppose any steps to go back to the old days of the saloon and strong drink. Good people cannot wink at the violation of

one law and then expect the enforcement of all other laws. One breeds contempt for the other. There are certain forces, in my opinion, who want to break down the enforcement of the Prohibition laws in order to work their mischief in other ways and in violation of other laws.—William J. Harris, United States Senator, Representing the State of Georgia.

THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA

The effect of Prohibition has been even better than its friends expected. Crime has decreased to such an extent that in many counties the jails are empty a part of the time. Moral and economic conditions throughout the state are wonderfully improved as the direct result of the Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. It is true that Bolshevism exists in some parts of this country, but there is very little in the South, where we have but a small foreign population. There is industrial unrest throughout the country, but these things have not resulted from Prohibition; they exist in spite of it. But for the fact that the nation is sober, they would, in my judgment, have been very much intensified.—Thomas E. Kilby, Governor of the State of Alabama.

THE GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA

It is my unshaken conviction that Prohibition, both state and national, has greatly improved the condition, both moral and material, of the people of Arizona, and of the nation and that in time the abolition of this traffic will have a more pronounced effect upon the morals and economic welfare of the United States.

Arizona has been under Prohibition rules since 1915. A large part of the State went dry under protest, but I am sure, were this question to be again submitted to the voters there would not be a single community in this state that would favor a return to the old days of the open saloon.—Thomas E. Campbell, Governor of Arizona.

THE GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS

Would Prohibition carry in your state by popular vote, if submitted today? Positively, yes.

Is there any majority demand for amendment of the Vol-

stead law so as to permit the sale of wine and beer? No, only a minority.

Is organized labor, as you know it, in favor of retaining the present Prohibition policy? It is.

Is enforcement against bootleggers better than it has been? Yes.

Can you justify a report that Prohibition has-.

- (a) Increased the well-being of the general masses? Yes.
- (b) Increased savings among workers? Yes.
- (c) Stimulated home ownership? Yes.
- (d) Benefitted children in marked degree? Yes.
- (e) Reduced drunkenness? Yes.
- (f) Reduced crime in general? Yes.

Have any jails or penal institutions been closed as a result of Prohibition? Several jails, from reports, have no inmates.

Is there any idle property, due to Prohibition, or have breweries, saloons and wholesale warehouses been absorbed for other purposes? The "slack" was long ago taken up in Arkansas.

Everything appears on the credit side of Prohibition in Arkansas. In this connection it should always be pointed out that a program so vital, a change so sudden and vast, must be beset with difficulties commensurate with the end sought.—Thomas C. McRae, Governor of the State of Arkansas.

THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

I was privileged to vote for Prohibition when a member of Congress, and as governor, to lead the fight for the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment in California. . . .

National Prohibition has fully justified itself. The children are better clothed and cared for. Mothers are happier and more content. Merchants have more business. Savings banks have larger deposits. The people are more prosperous. Prohibition has come to stay. All good citizens should stand strong and unequivocally for law enforcement.—William D. Stephens, Governor of the State of California.

THE GOVERNOR OF COLORADO

It may be in keeping for me to say that we of Colorado have had a few years' more experience under the Prohibition law than have many of the other states of our Union, and therefore we believe we are in better position to judge the wisdom of such a condition. The people of the state are so thoroughly in accord with the movement, and so pleased with the result, that if given an opportunity to express their opinion about it, they would do so with an overwhelming majority. There have been no conditions which can cause any right-thinking citizen to but feel that it has been a great thing for our commonwealth,—economically, morally and spiritually.

The economic factor alone is of so much importance that we do not fear a return to the days of "booze". Business interests, with all the force at their command, will never again allow the use of liquor, which will but result in the deterioration of labor and the awful added cost of production. Even before the days of Prohibition successful business had established the rule that men would not be employed who were addicted to the use of alcohol. That meant the last word in declaring that alcohol, and its damaging influence on the economic condition of our country, would have to go.—Oliver H. Shoup, Governor of the State of Colorado.

THE GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE

It may be trite to say so, yet it would appear necessary to state a simple elementary truth which I fear many people are ignorant of, or knowing it, are impervious to. It is this, that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land.

No federal statutes, no treaties and no legislative enactments in the states can either nullify or impair it. All federal and state officials are sworn to obey it and every citizen is not only legally but morally bound to respect it.

Now, the Constitution prohibits the manufacture, sale or transportation of "intoxicating liquors". Beer and wine have always been regarded as intoxicating liquors. Courts everywhere throughout the land have repeatedly so decided. Statutes—federal and state—cannot by legislative definition make them otherwise.—W. D. Denny, Governor of the State of Delaware.

THE GOVERNOR OF IDAHO

I believe Prohibition to have been a success in Idaho and that it has reduced the consumption of alcoholic liquors tremendously. When I say success, I do not mean that it has reached the point in its development where liquor is not manufactured and used, but I do think that each year brings a better understanding among our people of their ability to get along without alcoholic liquors, and an advance in the destruction of an appetite for them.

We have been dry by statute for ten years. I think there would be no question but what a Prohibition law would again pass in Idaho by an increased vote, and while there is considerable agitation at this time for an amendment to the Volstead Act, it comes from a minority made up of those who would welcome the complete annulment of the constitutional amendment. Our laws here are impartially enforced, so that no class, such as labor, has developed to any degree a class movement to amend our present laws.

We have four agencies at work on law enforcement—the state police, city, county and federal officers, and in most instances they work together harmoniously and the enforcement of law is better than it has been.

I believe that our people have more savings accounts, that there is a happier home life, that in a great degree the children of the laboring class are better, and that there has been a marked decrease in drunkenness.

Personally, I believe Prohibition to have been thoroughly worth while.—D. W. Davis, Governor of the State of Idaho.

THE GOVERNOR OF INDIANA

I can truthfully and conscientiously state that Prohibition in Indiana has been of a most helpful character. I am sure the people of Indiana would never again vote for the open saloon. One of the most concrete and practicable evidences of the effect of Prohibition is that under the old order of things the Indianapolis workhouse, with a capacity of four to five hundred, was generally filled. At present it does not have a single occupant. This statement speaks volumes in favor of Prohibition and its enforcement.—Warren T. McCray, Governor of the State of Indiana.

THE GOVERNOR OF IOWA

I regret exceedingly that the situation in Iowa as respects law enforcement is not such that it can be characterized truthfully as entirely satisfactory. We are suffering as all other localities are, from the demoralizing effects resultant from the war, and we are experiencing the utmost difficulty in securing reasonable observance of the prohibitory law. The illegal manufacture of liquor has manifested itself in every section of the state and in many communities local sentiment has been friendly to the nefarious enterprise. Our officers, Federal and state, are active and aggressive in the performance of their duties, and every resource at our command is exercised to extirpate the evil.

I believe we are making substantial progress both in reducing the number of violations and also in creating a wholesome public feeling, which will not tolerate any retreat.—N. E. Kendall, Governor of Iowa.

THE GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

Prohibtion has been upon the statute books of Kansas over forty years, and we are in the second generation of young men who have not seen a saloon. Liquor is rather well out of our system, and those who have watched the progress of the Prohibition law in Kansas are of the opinion that it has been a great success, not only from an ethical, but from an economic standpoint.

Prohibition is really an economic issue and any state that has given it an honest trial, as we have in Kansas, will soon realize the direct benefits which accrue to the general population through the saving of waste and the better efficiency which follows the doing away with the saloon.

Prohibition has won its way in Kansas upon its merits during a fight of more than forty years. When the law was first passed, there was a very strong opposition to it, and for the first 15 years of its existence upon the statute books one of the political parties always put a plank in its platform calling for a resubmission of the Prohibition amendment. Men ran for office upon what they called wet tickets which meant that they would use their influence in favor of liquor.

Every year opposition to the law grew weaker, every session

of the legislature strengthened its provisions, and today any man speaking in favor of the repeal of the prohibitory amendment would be regarded as a distinct oddity. Today, any effort to remove the prohibitory law from the statute books of Kansas would be defeated by a vote of fifty to one. This victory is not a sentimental one, but is the result of practical operation of the law.—H. J. Allen, Governor of the State of Kansas.

THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

The effect of Prohibition as a whole has been beneficial, and there has been a marked decrease in crime.

Enforcement of the law has been very lax and extremely difficult, and violations are common.

I do not think the sentiment for Prohibition is growing. A large number of the people of this state have always been accustomed to light wines and Prohibition has caused a large amount of home brew.—John M. Parker, Governor of Louisiana.

THE GOVERNOR OF MAINE

Our country is now passing through the most difficult years of Prohibition, but public sentiment is gradually crystallizing in favor of strict and impartial enforcement and no backward steps will be taken.

In Maine we have gone through the same conditions that now face our land and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our people regardless of party now believe in and insist upon enforcement

The noisy minority is small and discredited and we are proud to hold the position for which we have fought for more than sixty years which is that of the pioneer Prohibition state where the law is respected and enforced. . . .

The State of Maine for sixty years has stood loyally for Prohibition. It has endured the abuse and been tempted by the gold of the liquor interests of the nation. The state, however, has remained unshaken in its faith, and today stands before the world justified by the action of its sister states in adopting National Prohibition. Those within the state who in the past sought to betray it, are now discredited and are heard from no more.

The men of Maine remain true to this great cause and the women give to it their overwhelming approval. I believe the day is soon at hand when our whole nation will be as firm in the faith as is Maine, the pioneer Prohibition state—Percival P. Baxter, Governor of the State of Maine.

THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication addressed to Governor Cox. Upon receipt of your letter and by direction of the Governor, it was forwarded to the Commissioner of Correction for Massachusetts, who makes the following statement in reply to your letter:

1. The general effect of Prohibition on the economic life of our people has been to reduce crime, insanity and poverty, and on the social and moral life of our people it has been noticeably

uplifting.

- 2. I should say that the Prohibition law was being enforced with about as much success as the laws on the statute books prohibiting gaming and the social evil. If it is meant to compare the number of arrests for illegal selling with the number of arrests for the commission of definite crimes such as murder, robbery, larceny, assault, etc., then it would appear that the Prohibition act is not enforced with as much severity as in these cases. I think it is fair to say, however, that the Prohibition law is being enforced with about as much severity as was expected, or as is advisable at the present time.
- 3. This question must be answered in two ways. Among certain people, apparently largely confined to the middle and upper strata of society, there seems to be a good deal of annoyance resulting from the practical operation of the law. I think it is safe to say that certain people have been more desirous of consuming alcoholic beverages since Prohibition than before. On the other hand, among the workingmen, particularly among the women of all classes which have had a demonstration of the increase of general morality and a sample of the cleaner and better home conditions, there is, I believe, a growing sentiment in favor of the continuation of the Prohibition statute.—H. A. McDonald, Secretary to the Governor.

THE GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA

The general effect of Prohibition upon the American people has been splendid. While the Prohibition law is not perhaps as yet enforced as well as other laws upon the statute books, the time is drawing near when the results indicate that this will be the case. Prohibition sentiment is growing as the removal of the saloon now appears by common consent of all people to be a splendid thing for our nation.—J. A. O. Preus, Governor of the State of Minnesota.

THE GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI

Our state was among the very first in the Union to declare state-wide Prohibition. This was almost twenty years ago. Ever since that time the Prohibition sentiment has been stronger for the reason that good results were apparent on every hand. These results were shown by the fact that crime was reduced more than one half, court costs and expenses in the same proportion and the men and women addicted to strong drink that were once paupers began to lay aside som means and were in a short time amply able to clothe and feed their children and send them to school. The good results were marvelous, and even the men and women that take a drink now and then always vote for Prohibition because they know this move was proper.

Second, Mississippi was the first state in the Union to adopt the Nation-wide Prohibition law by placing it in its Constitution. Our people are practically unanimous that we should have a Nation-wide Prohibition law. We cannot see any good excuse for having any light wines or beer. These things have never made any person happy nor have they built better homes nor a stronger race, intellectually or morally. We believe that intoxicants of every sort and kind should be driven off the face of the earth, and the people of this state stand ready to cooperate in any way we can to this end.—Lee M. Russell, Governor of the State of Mississippi.

THE GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI

Good citizens should be brought to a realization that the Volstead act is as valid as the law against murder, and the only difference of criminality in violating either, is one not of kind, but of degree. The jibes of the vaudeville and the fulminations

of certain interested parties notwithstanding, Prohibition is a success. The consumption of alcoholic liquors has been enormously reduced. Nations, like individuals, are better off sober than drunken, whether drunkenness be permanent or periodical.—Arthur M. Hyde, Governor of the State of Missouri.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA

I think there can be no doubt of the social, economic and moral benefits that have accrued to Nebraska through the general effect of Prohibition. Of course, this is a difficult time in which to pass upon such a question, and I realize that in opposition to my statement there will be pointed out that the number of men in our penal institutions has been nearly trebled since Prohibition went into effect in this state, but I feel that has not been the result of Prohibition. Rather, it is a reflection of the irresponsibility that the people have felt during and since the war.

Prohibition is as vigorously enforced as any other law on the statute books in our state. By this I would not have you feel that it is an easy law to enforce, though in comparison with automobile stealing or the enforcement of many other laws to which I might refer, I think the difficulty is little if any greater. I think the sentiment in favor of Prohibition is growing in this state. I am very sure that the people would not be willing to approve the manufacture, sale or use of intoxicants in any form.—Samuel R. McKelvie, Governor of the State of Nebraska.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Prohibition is successful in the State of New Hampshire because it has closed all the saloons and some of the jails; has lessened crime and poverty; has made good industrious citizens out of loafers and drunkards; and has removed temptation from our boys and girls.

As to your further question in regard to any change of public sentiment in the matter, I should say that what change there has been in New Hampshire has been in favor of Prohibition as a public policy.—Albert O. Brown, Governor of the State of New Hampshire.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO

I think it is the belief of a very substantial majority of the people of New Mexico that Prohibition has been justified by its effects. The campaign for Prohibition in New Mexico was a campaign against the open saloon, and although the law does not completely prohibit, yet the abolition of the saloon has had a great effect for good among the poor people of the state.

There is no disposition, I believe, among the people of the state to repeal the Prohibition law; neither do I think, if put to a vote, there would be any danger that the law would be modified in favor of light wines and beer. The general impression is that we must expect quite a while to elapse before Prohibition can be made absolutely effective, but that it can be done in time; and that any measures looking forward to a compromise would be to keep this question continually before the people and to defer the day of effective Prohibition.—M. C. Mechem, Governor of the State of New Mexico.

THE FORMER GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Certain students of political science have isolated a phenomenon of our legislative and administrative system, which they have described as "unenforceable laws". These laws, although enacted by the legislative authority with due observance of statutory and constitutional safeguards, are asserted to be fundamentally unenforceable. Thus, statutes have been given a new classification either as enforceable or as unenforceable.

Various reasons are assigned for the weakness in laws which renders them unenforceable; it is claimed that either they do not meet with general public approval, or they are favored only by a minority, or they have become archaic. Many of these laws are condemned as sumptuary and interfering with personal liberty and aiming to enforce uniformity of personal habits through state sanction, and some are described more harshly as arbitrary and tyrannical. Unenforceable laws are placed in a twilight zone between innocence and evil, in which transgression is generally indulged, if not with the connivance, at least with indifference, on the part of constituted public authority. The harmful reaction of such a condition is found by these students in the weakening of the restraint of law, the loss of confidence

in the administration of justice and the inefficacy of our governmental system. . . .

The concept of the unenforceability of a portion of our laws has elements of great danger. Its establishment would largely curtail the function of the legislative branch in our scheme of government. In practical effect, it would not even require the initiative or referendum. It challenges certain laws simply because they are opposed by groups of individuals who conceitedly believe that they personify public opinion. Extended to its logical conclusion, this treatment of a great portion of our law would, in my judgment, greatly weaken the forces of our organized social system and jeopardize its security.

The view that laws are or become unenforceable when not in accord with public opinion is purely doctrinaire. The implication that a large mass of our population is not law-abiding is contrary to the observation of those who have had wide experience with the making, administering and enforcing of laws in this country. . . .

Law is mandatory, and it is the mandatory character of law which distinguishes it from religious precepts and moral conventions, observance of which depends purely upon personal predilection. One repeats such truisms, apologetically; but the disregard of fundamentals leads to the doctrinaire notion under discussion.

We need not now inquire whether moral concepts or social conventions lead to, or are derived from, law declaratory of positive rules of conduct. In our republican form of government, means and ways are provided for the orderly expression of the popular will, and, when the popular will is so expressed, it is sheer defiance of law and order to segregate laws for enforcement and laws for non-enforcement. . . .—Charles S. Whitman, Former Governor of the State of New York. (Excerpts from an address to the American Bar Association.)

THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

In the absence of the Governor, I beg to acknowledge your letter. I feel safe in making the statement that the benefits from Prohibition in North Carolina have been so marked that no man in public life would presume to advocate a return to the old order of things.—Private Secretary to the Governor of the State of North Carolina.

THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH DAKOTA

North Dakota has always been dry. When the state was admitted to the Union in 1889, a Prohibition clause formed a part of the Constitution which was then adopted. Despite the many difficulties attending the enforcement of any law where the enforcer battles against the combined forces of men's appetites and men's greed, the people of North Dakota have never regretted the adoption of this provision of the Constitution, and the sentiment for Prohibition has been steadily increasing.

Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty, but it also is the price of success for any reform that is instituted against the powerful hosts of evil with which the Prohibition forces have had to contend everywhere and at all times.

When I first came to the state, twenty-nine years ago, North Dakota had been a state four years, and had had four vears of experience with Prohibition. I talked with a great many persons, business men and farmers, who had lived in the state, both during territorial days when licensed saloons existed and also during the four years after the legalized saloon had been abolished, and almost without exception these declared that the improvement in the social and economic condition, in more intelligent farming, and in the degree of comfort and well-being enjoyed by the women and the children was quite marked; and many of these men were not so-called Prohibition cranks; they occasionally would ship in some liquor for their own consumption, but nevertheless they contended that the general benefit from Prohibition was such that, if the question were ever again raised in this state, they would not only vote for Prohibition but would contribute liberally to the cause.

During the twenty-nine years in which I have made my home in North Dakota I have found that, as the laws against liquor selling have been more and more successfully enforced, the result in the life of the various communities has been to increase the general well-being of the people, encourage saving, reduce crime, invite home ownership, and more especially it has resulted in better education and in promoting the general well-being of the children of our state.

Now that National Prohibition has come, the advantage should become still more apparent. For a number of years, this will not be so noticeable because of the skill and persistence of the forces that oppose Prohibition for the sake of the great financial gains and whose campaign is supported and sustained by those whose craving for intoxicants is still so great as to outweigh every other consideration, and the battle will be furious and long-drawn.

The disposition to joke about the law and its violation, the presence in so many communities of many respectable people who think it smart to make a little "home brew", and the general sentiment created that the crime defined by this law is in a different category from other crimes and the criminal to be sympathized with and laughed at, rather than censured, will delay the ultimate success and acknowledged value of this law. But I am confident that it has come to stay, and when public sentiment will demand, and thereby insure, its thorough enforcement, I believe that the improvement in our social, industrial, and economic life will be so apparent that inside of a quarter of a century many of the present opponents of Prohibition will become its ardent advocates.

Considering the question in its broadest aspects, with due regard for the difficulties and disadvantages attending the enforcement of a law that runs counter to greed and appetite, I am convinced that Prohibition, whether state or national, is eminently worth while.—R. A. Nestos, Governor of the State of North Dakota.

THE GOVERNOR OF OHIO

I seriously question whether there are any considerably great numbers of people in Ohio today, irrespective of their prior convictions, who would be willing to deny that Prohibition has been an economic and social benefit in many ways. That a general recognition of this exists, appears to me demonstrated clearly by recent protestations by proponents of a "light wine and beer" policy, in presenting their case to the public, that they are not advocates of any plan that might have for its purpose, return to pre-Prohibition conditions connected with the saloon.

I do not claim to be able to see into the future, but on the strength of the experience this state has had under Prohibition, I am willing to assert that our people would under no circumstances exchange Prohibition of today for the conditions that prevailed prior to its enactment. With the continued improve-

ment in enforcement as evidenced so far, the public's conviction of the merit of Prohibition, is bound to strengthen constantly.

—Harry L. Davis, Governor of the State of Ohio.

THE FORMER GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Speaking of the use of liquors abroad, Governor Evans says: "I have seen so much of wine drinking and whisky drinking and beer drinking; so few persons who were actually sober, so many evidences of degeneracy brought about by excessive use of alcohol, that I feel like commending our country because we took alcohol in hand before it had gotten a death grip on our people.

"Not that you see many people in Europe in the gutters dead drunk, yet there are few who are sober at any time. Day and night they are under the influence of alcohol."—John G. Evans, Former Governor of the State of South Carolina.

THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS

Replying to your inquiry as to the effect of the Prohibition law in Texas, desire to say that words are inadequate to express the good that has come as a direct result from the closing of saloons in this state. I do not believe that 10 per cent of the citizens of Texas, at this time, would vote to put the saloons back in this state. As I see it, all the results derived from a saloon were detrimental, there being absolutely no benefits enjoyed by having them. They were breeders of crime, and of evils of every kind. It has been a decided protection to the women of our land that the saloons have been abolished.—Pat. M. Neff, Governor of the State of Texas.

THE GOVERNOR OF UTAH

Prohibition has been successful in Utah to the extent that it has eliminated the saloon and attendant evils. While it has not completely prohibited, it has been a deterrent in the right direction. It has improved business conditions, bettered the wage earner, and brought about more favorable moral conditions in general.

Of course, there are many who violate the law, and to what extent this indifference will go, only time can tell. As one American citizen who believes in upholding the Constitution, I have faith that it will not undermine the allegiance of the American people to their fundamental law.—Charles R. Mabey, Governor of the State of Utah.

THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

Our state adopted Prohibition by over thirty thousand majority in 1914, but the law did not become operative until November 1, 1916, so that we have had nearly six years of experience upon which to base our judgment of its value as a governmental policy.

Prohibition has fairly stood the test of the trying days of the great world war, and the period of reconstruction, and readjustment of the complex problems, in the social and industrial world, and has won friends among all classes of our people, so that if the wet and dry proposition was again submitted to the voters, the majority in favor of Prohibition would be larger than that of 1914.

The revenue of the state has more than doubled and the savings accounts in our banks have very materially increased. We are spending nearly three millions a year more on good roads, and over one million for education since the adoption of Prohibition.

There is no demand for the modification of the Prohibition law except from a very small minority. There is no vacant property of value in the state. The breweries have been converted into cold-storage plants, or for the manufacture of soft drinks and dairy foods. The saloon property is now occupied by grocery, clothing, and dry-goods stores, etc.

Notwithstanding the opposition of a certain element of the press and that of a small minority of our people, who on account of their taste and habits still oppose Prohibition and the strict enforcement of the law, Prohibition has been a success in Virginia and has increased the peace, happiness and prosperity of our people in general, and the sentiment in its favor is growing steadily and will continue to grow until a younger generation has grown up absolutely free from the inherited or acquired evils of the beverage liquor traffic.—E. Lee Trinkle, Governor of the State of Virginia.

THE GOVERNOR OF WEST VIRGINIA

Prohibition was adopted in West Virginia by popular vote at a general election in 1912. A proposed amendment to the state constitution was ratified by 92,000 majority and became effective July 1, 1914. In my opinion, the question, if submitted again, would carry by an increased vote. There is now no concrete demand or movement for light wines and beer.

For a time considerable difficulty was experienced in the enforcement of the Prohibition laws, but those who are now charged with the enforcement of the law are in full sympathy with the purposes of the Act and they have been responsible for increased activity among local officers with the result that there has been impartial enforcement of the statute.

It is the general belief and opinion that Prohibition has increased the efficiency of labor; that it has resulted in the stimulation of thrift; has increased happiness and contentment in the home, and has reduced drunkenness. Prohibition has not resulted in idle property. A survey of the state will show a conversion of all property used for breweries and saloons to business purposes.—E. F. Morgan, Governor of the State of West Virginia.

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ALASKA

The greatest obstacles to the enforcement of Prohibition, in southern Alaska are (a) the almost unrestricted smuggling of whisky from British Columbia by members of the crews of the steamers which regularly ply between Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Alaskan ports, by Alaskans who go to Prince Rupert with gas boats for their illicit cargos, and by Canadians themselves; and (b) the election of "business men" as councilmen who instruct the local police officers to let the "joints" alone.

The effect, therefore, of Prohibition on the social, economic and moral life of the people engaged in the traffic has been demoralizing. But its effect on the people generally has been very good, although most of them are disgusted and disappointed over the failure to enforce Prohibition. All the bootleggers of Juneau operate "soft drink parlors," have their shelves lined with soft drinks, but their supply of whisky stored in secret recesses seems inexhaustible. Every one knows of these places, but nothing is done, and those who operate them are becoming

more and more arrogant because of the immunity they enjoy and the profits that they reap. The most expensive motor cars are owned by them, and nearly all of them are foreigners who never had any respect for the country and its laws, and never will until given the limit in jail.

My opinion is that there should be no easing up in any particular and a determined effort made to plug up all loopholes, provide a special search warrant procedure so as to facilitate to the greatest extent possible the apprehension, conviction and sentence of violators. The present generation is not going to drink nearly so much under the most unfavorable conditions of Prohibition as they would have under the saloon system, and those who drink moonshine now would do so at any rate if it meant immediate death; and they are not going to live forever.—G. W. Folta, Secretary to the Governor of Alaska.

THE GOVERNOR OF HAWAII

As a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii I can say to you that the general effect of Prohibition on the social, economic and moral life of the people is in my mind such as to confirm our opinion on the wisdom of this advance step. During my brief administration as Governor I have encountered nothing which leads me to change my view. I believe the Prohibition law is well enforced. Naturally the enforcement has developed some weaknesses in the details of the law that require correction. One of these makes evident the great need for early passage of a bill now before the United States Congress that will give to our territorial courts concurrent jurisdiction with the Federal Court in the enforcement of the Prohibition law.

The sentiment toward Prohibition is a curious combination of conflicting expressions. This is the natural result of reaction following a very radical national step. There is not lacking a varied criticism of different phases of Prohibition, but almost invariably the critic closes his conversation with the statement that he would never be willing to go back to old conditions and if the Prohibition measure were again presented for an expression through the ballot he would vote for Prohibition.—W. R. Farrington, Governor of Hawaii.

CONGRESSMAN FROM MISSOURI

Having watched the efforts of the whisky forces during the last few years very carefully, I am fully aware of the fact that they shall die hard, but die they must. I have an abiding faith in the righteousness of the Prohibition cause. Reverses may and do come, but the American people cannot and will not retreat. The day is dawning when John Barleycorn shall be entombed never to be resurrected. Bright will be the day, and happy the homes of many, now wretched, families.—S. A. Shelton, Congressman from Missouri.

CONGRESSMAN FROM IOWA

Be assured that there will be no backward step taken by the United States. They have placed as a part of their fundamental law—the Constitution of the United States—a declaration prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and that will stand against all of the assaults that may be made against it.

The liquor interest dies hard, but the final abrogation of the traffic in the United States will be achieved and what remains necessary for the enforcement of the Prohibition will be done with the overwhelming approval of the people.—Horace M Towner, Congressman from Iowa.

CONGRESSMAN FROM MICHIGAN

The United States has under way a tremendous experiment the complete eradication of the traffic in alcoholic liquor from a great nation.

We are making good in that endeavor, and Uncle Sam will never give up until this experiment is fully acclaimed by the world a great success.—Louis C. Cramton, Congressman from Michigan.

CONGRESSMAN FROM GEORGIA

Certainly all friends of that righteousness that exalteth a nation, in other lands, should help rather than hinder the United States in its moral leadership for the emanicipation of humanity and the glory of God.—William D. Upshaw, Congressman from Georgia.

CONGRESSMAN FROM KANSAS

The State of Kansas, that forty years ago declared against alcoholism by placing a prohibitive amendment in its Constitution, and which has steadily strengthened its laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor until it enacted its famous "Bone Dry Law", (which punishes by both fine and imprisonment even the possession of intoxicating liquor) prides itself in leadership against intemperance which has resulted in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and sends greetings and good wishes to the International Convention Against Alcoholism now being held in Toronto, Canada.

The up-building of any great movement in the interest of a cleaner and better national life always meets with setbacks and disappointments because of the opposition whose selfishness refuses to part with that which it enjoys, and blinds itself to the great interest of Humanity that we are seeking to serve. But persistent effort in a righteous cause will win out, and I am glad, as a Representative in the American Congress from the State of Kansas to congratulate your League upon its determination to persevere until the goal is reached.—James G. Strong, Congressman from Kansas.

CONGRESSMAN FROM CALIFORNIA

I believe that prohibition against alcohol has proven the greatest boon to mankind in the world's history because of the spiritual, moral, economic, and sociological uplift to the peoples to which it has been applied.

I am naturally in favor of making its benefits world-wide and believe that international problems of the future will be settled with less difficulty when alcohol is outlawed in a world sense.—Walter F. Lineberger, Congressman from California.

COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND PROFESSORS

(Statements secured through the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.)

I am firmly opposed to any concessions whatever to beer and wine. Beer and wine were understood to be intoxicating liquors when the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted and ratified.

It was traffic in non-distilled intoxicating liquors as well as in distilled intoxicating liquors which the Eighteenth Amendment was intended to prohibit and does prohibit. Enforcement now is merely a question of the ability of the American people to carry out the deliberate decision of its duly constituted representatives.

There is nothing that can be said today for beer and wine that was not under consideration when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted and for two generations before as well. The beer and wine theory has lost along with the rest of the liquor cause. The Volstead act finally passed nearly a year after the armistice by a more than three to one vote in both houses of Congress, merely carries out the plain meaning and intent of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The only honorable American course now open to such opponents of Prohibition as are not willing to accept their defeat as final is openly to advocate the repeal or change of the Eighteenth Amendment, and meanwhile obey the law and support its enforcement. Any attempt to nullify the United States Constitution in behalf of beer and wine by an act of Congress amounting to a destructive amendment thereof should and doubtless will meet short shrift. The Constitution of the United States does not authorize its own amendment even non-destructively by ordinary act of Congress.

I make no reference to light wines often mentioned in this connection, because in lack of definition of what is meant by light the term is out of place in candid discussion. Such a word is likely to operate as mere camouflage and to deceive the careless and uninformed. The "lightest" of wines contain six to eight per cent of alcohol and claret and champagne twelve to fourteen per cent. Until "light" wine is so defined as to exclude intoxicating drinks we must assume that "light" wine means simply wine and should use in discussion of this topic only the shorter and less deceptive term.

In a word: The traffic in beer and wine can not now be authorized without violation of the purpose and letter of the Eighteenth Amendment. Such authorization therefore is something which so long as that amendment stands unrepealed no professed respecter of the United States Constitution should seriously suggest. One hardly need add that apart from the constitutional question a legalized traffic in beer and wine would

be a cover under which it would be impracticable to enforce Prohibition of the traffic in other intoxicating liquors.—Lewis Jerome Johnson, M. Am. Soc. C. E., Professor of Civil Engineering, Harvard University.

The banishment of the saloon and the outlawry of the liquor traffic, even under the imperfect enforcement of the amendment and the statute, has proved a blessing to the home, to the father, mother and child. The money saved has provided better food, clothing and housing, and therefore better health and morals; while the decrease of drunkenness has tended to restore domestic peace and happiness.

Taking advantage of a popular fallacy, the wets are striving to influence public opinion in favor of legalizing the traffic in wine and beer, asserting that these drinks are wholesome. The assertion is false. Careful research has proved, for instance, that wine and beer are more efficient producers of criminals, than is any form of so-called "spirits." There are various causes to account for this fact. One principal cause may here be noted; the larger quantity of alcohol which enters the system through the use of wine or beer instead of spirits. It is the quantity of alcohol which counts; and because of the much larger bulk of these "lighter" drinks consumed, the quantity of alcohol imbibed is actually greater.—Professor George Elliott Howard, Department of Political Science and Sociology, University of Nebraska.

While it is undoubtedly difficult to enforce at present in large cities, where there is still a strong hangover sentiment against it, I believe that President Harding has hit the nail on the head when he said that "in another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics but from our memories."

I base this opinion on three sets of facts.

First, so far as I can discover prohibition has succeeded more than it has failed and is increasingly accepted. Disease, vice, crime, inefficiency, poverty, thriftlessness, have decreased, according to statistics, and the efforts to excite the public against the law have been surprisingly small and futile.

Second, the history of opinion in regard to state prohibition. Rather uniformly the history has been after prohibition has been established a conversion to it by those formerly against it. Third, a study of the alcohol problem convinces me that prohibition is the right and proper way of dealing with it. Some years ago I estimated that prohibition would add to the income of the people of the United States something like \$5,000,000,000 and the recent experience with savings bank deposits and other indices lead me to think that this was under the mark.

My prediction is that prohibition will bring converts to it and very rapidly.—Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.

The liquor traffic was long before the bar of civilization. As a problem of first magnitude it was compelled to submit to the scrutiny of all who would make inquisition. An impressive procession of investigators, including biologist and chemist, pathologist and eugenist, economist and sociologist, business man and labor leader, moralist and religionist—and all the rest—probed the problem from every angle. The evidence was in. The day of reckoning came. The verdict, "guilty, as charged," was entered.

The desperate effort to evade the sentence would be ludicrous if it were not so dastardly and anarchistic. The spirit of outlawry exhibited confirms the verdict reached and gives additional reason for exacting the full penalty.

In spite of exhibitions of lawlessness here and there, the beneficent effects of prohibition are being felt more and more. Literally, millions of persons have quietly given up drink altogether, thus adding to their happiness and prosperity. The American saloon, with its baneful "treating" habit and all evil concomitants—malignant cancer that it was, has been cut out of our body politic. Best of all, a generation of American boys and girls are growing up in our midst who will soon come to maturity without the taint of alcohol.—Professor Rockwell H. Hunt, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Southern California.

That the people who have no self-control or knowledge enough to stay away from harmful stimulants should not be forcefully protected from their own indulgence is a monstrous proposition. We attempt to guard carefully other poisons with the approval of practically the entire body politic. I, for one, am perfectly willing to forego the use of this particular poison for the benefit of an entire race. I am particularly concerned

with the effects of alcohol on the descendants of confirmed alcoholics and on the economic welfare of their families.

So far as my limited experience can observe, economic conditions amongst the laboring classes are distinctly improved as a result of enforced prohibition and that is particularly true with regard to the families of those who were accustomed with full license to spend most of their money for their own personal gratification.—H. E. Robertson, M. D., Professor of Pathology, University of Minnesota.

It seems to me that the full effects of our present huge experiment will not be felt until a generation has passed and that we should not be disturbed by failures at present. Already the effects are sufficiently marked to show the importance of the move we have made and it is my conviction that as time goes on the benefits will become more marked.—Professor W. B. Cannon, Harvard Medical School.

Five years from now most of those who indulge heavily in liquor at the present moment will have forgotten about it. It will cease to be smart and clever to become drunken. Already there is apparent a recovery from the first reaction against prohibition, and people are ceasing to talk about drinking, or to make a display of their ability to secure liquor for consumption.

The rising generation will not know the taste of liquor; they will not see it being consumed in public places; they will not form a taste for it or a habit of indulging in order to conform to group practice, and so they will have no wish for it. But it will take a generation completely to eliminate the desire for alcohol and practice of ridiculing prohibition and glorifying alcoholic indulgence. No student of racial psychology believes that prohibition could take full effect at once. It is meeting with greater success than could reasonably be expected. Most of our people are not thinking about liquor; they have no wish to indulge in it. It is only a small proportion of habitues and "smart alecks" who are indulging and prolonging the reaction against prohibition.—M. V. O'Shea, Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin.

I am confident that if a law were passed allowing the free

sale of beer and wine, the contrast with present conditions would be so marked that a demand would be overwhelming to have the law repealed and to eliminate the saloon.

There is no comparison between the public drunkenness of the days before prohibition, and that at the present time. This is naturally a moonshine district, but so far as I have heard, the sentiment of the better class of citizens is in favor of more stringency rather than in favor of relaxing the enforcement of the Prohibition laws.—Prof. Charles A. Perkins, University of Tennessee.

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the same extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress. It was the most conspicuous form of waste to be found anywhere in the life of the American people. The waste of money, however, was not the serious phase of the question; it was the waste of man-power that counted. The money formerly spent on drink is spent for other things, and the loss to the liquor business is therefore fully made up by the gain in other lines of business.

We cannot maintain a high state of civilization without a great deal of interdependence. There can be no great amount of interdependence where there is no dependability. Next to lying and stealing, nothing so destroys dependability as drunkenness. Anything, therefore, which increases drunkenness fixes a lower limit to the possibilities of civilization. Anything that decreases drunkenness raises that limit and makes it possible for us to be more civilized than we could otherwise become.

My impression is that drunkenness is much less common than it was before prohibition came in. This impression is supported by such statistics as are available.—Prof. T. N. Carver, Harvard University.

Drunkenness is very greatly decreased. I very seldom see a drunken man any more and the opportunity and temptation to drink has been removed from the pathway of the great majority of young people.

Twelve years ago a business man said to me, "I am looking for a new location, but I can not think of coming to your city. I have two boys to bring up. I have seen more saloons and more drunkenness in fifteen minutes' ride through your city than I have seen in fifteen years in my home state." The country as a whole is now approximately on the basis of his "home state."

I do not believe that the present selfish propaganda will induce the people to go back to the old economic and moral waste.

—Professor J. B. Johnson, Dean, University of Minnesota.

I think the Eighteenth Amendment was the longest and most effective step forward in the uplift of the human race ever taken by any civilized nation; that the present reaction against it is only temporary; that it has been productive of incalculable good, and that there is no danger whatever of its repeal or substantial modification.—President Henry Louis Smith, Washington and Lee University.

Those who are interested in the care and treatment of mental disorders have uniformly found a marked decrease of disorders due to alcohol during the last few years. To my personal knowledge, wards formerly used for the care of alcoholic patients are now used for other purposes. There has been a great falling off in the admission of alcoholic mental disorders to the hospitals for the insane in this country. This fact alone is strong evidence of the benefits brought about by Prohibition.—Albert M. Barret, M. D., University of Michigan.

I am opposed to any change in the present prohibition laws save for the purpose of strengthening them and making their enforcement more perfect and complete. I am absolutely opposed, therefore, to any action being taken which will tend to weaken the present legislation relating to prohibition.—President Andrew M. Soule, University of Georgia.

I strongly favored prohibition in the first instance because of my belief that the saloon was a dangerous element in our social and political life. I am confident that if any weakness in the enforcement of the prohibition amendment were shown in the way for example of allowing wine and beer to be sold, we would have a return of the saloon at once.—Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University.

I do not see how among people who place the welfare of humanity above an accidentally acquired habit of some individuals, there can be any difference of opinion concerning alcohol prohibition. That some people drink as much as before prohibition, no matter how much or how little that statement

may be true, is not a relevant argument in the face of the general social betterment.—Professor Max F. Meyer, University of Missouri.

If the habit of moderate drinking will make a man so regardless of the will of the majority in a republic, then it is essential to the perpetuation of republican institutions that even moderate drinking shall be abolished.

I am not discouraged as to the ultimate enforcement of the law. The irreconcilables are losing in numbers and influence all the time. The supply of standard alcoholic beverages is becoming more meager all the time and one must be very dependent upon alcoholic stimulation to remain long a patron of the commercial bootlegger.—Fernando Sanford, Professor Emeritus, Stanford University.

Much good has already been done by Prohibition, though as yet only partially enforced. We are rid of the open saloon with streams of young men going into it. There is less drunkenness and less drinking than formerly. More working men have deposits in savings banks. Families are better cared for.—Ex-President Cyrus Northrop, University of Minnesota.

I am convinced that the economic issue-lies at the basis of this question and that the second sober thought of our country believes in the support of prohibition. It seems quite apparent to me from my observation, that drunkenness is not as common now as it was prior to the enforcement of the Volstead act.—President M. L. Burton, University of Michigan.

My support of prohibition is stronger now than when I signed the petition for it five years ago. The country has been dried up more completely than I had supposed would be possible within two years after the adoption of the amendment. The transformation of customs and the modification of habits in a beneficent way are even more marked than I had anticipated. We hear a great deal about drinking at the present time, but I understand perfectly that this is mostly propaganda and my own observation convinces me that the amount of drinking and drunkenness is greatly reduced unless it be in a few of our largest cities.

I expect a more extensive transformation from Prohibition

within the next thirty years than formerly I considered possible.

—Professor E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin.

I am now more strongly in favor of prohibition than I was five years ago. The results of the measure have more than justified my belief that it would bring about an economic, social and intellectual improvement in all our communities. I am not particularly disturbed by the notoriety obtained by the bootlegger and his associates, for I feel that alcoholic beverages and the habit of consuming them are being more and more confined to the criminal or semi-criminal class in the country.

All great social reforms require a considerable period of time in which to work themselves out and I would be satisfied if in the second or third generation after prohibition, the habit of drunkenness, and even the memory of a saloon, should have disappeared.—Walter W. McLaren, Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Mass.

Prohibition is the best thing that has happened in recent years in this country. We have a certain percentage of students and perhaps a few of the faculty who are still in the playful stage of life and who are amusing themselves by fretfully defying the law with the delusion that they are deriving entertainment in the process. I think this is a passing phase and that prohibition is here to stay and to succeed.—President Ray Lyman Wilbur, Stanford University.

I am more strongly convinced of the importance and value of prohibition than ever; because:

- 1. It has destroyed the saloon which was a curse in our social life. A large per cent of the saloons in all our cities were places of social vice, and therefore centers of infection of diseases which invade the home and blight the lives of innocent wives and children.
- 2. It has weakened and will soon destroy the liquor interests in our politics, which were among the most corrupting influences we had to contend with.
- 3. The saloon was not tolerated in the "residence" sections of our cities but was pushed into the sections where people of small means and the poor had to live and bring up their families. Prohibition has lifted this blighting curse from the homes of the

poor and is making it possible for them to bring up their children in a purer moral atmosphere.

- 4. It has destroyed the liquor traffic in small towns and in rural sections.
- 5. The enforcement of the law in our large cities is made difficult by business men, club men, certain professional men, and other men of similar classes, who because they like their own beer and wine occasionally, oppose prohibition. These men are willing that the liquor interests should corrupt our politics, that the moral atmosphere of the poorer quarters of our cities should be poisoned in order that they may have what they are pleased to call personal liberty as to the use of alcoholic liquors. This class of men have most to lose by the spirit of lawlessness which they encourage and are themselves guilty of.—Thomas M. Balliet, Former Professor New York University.

The faculty and students of Northwestern believe in prohibition in theory and believe that no form of crime was ever reduced so rapidly as that of drunkenness.

People still carry concealed weapons, they still steal, and they still drink, but drinkers are being reduced in number much faster than the other classes of law-breakers. There is practically no drinking among our students.—Walter Dill Scott, President Northwestern University.

I am very glad to say that, so far as I have been able to observe, the University has gained greatly by the prohibition law. The city of Lexington has improved in appearance, new stores have taken the place of old saloons and grog shops, and as a consequence the temptations to students have been materially reduced. Again, we have felt the past two years that the problems of discipline have been reduced by half.—Professor L. McVey, President, University of Kentucky.

In reply to your inquiry, I would say that there is less drinking among college students in this part of the country than ever before within the memory of man. When they do drink, the stuff now sold has most alarming effects, but as a habit, drinking has very greatly decreased since the introduction of the new law. To me, it is a great satisfaction that students can now go up and down the streets of our city without being

solicited at every corner by the open saloon.--W. H. P. Faunce, President Brown University.

I do not know of any way by which I can get the opinion of faculty and students of the University of Illinois on the question of prohibition. I can only give you my own view and my opinion as to the faculty and students as I gather it from conversations: that is, that the abolition of the American saloon is a great boon, that it ought to be kept abolished, and that the difficulties which are now surrounding the administration of the law will gradually smooth out and disapear. They are not inherent in the situation.—David Kinley, President, University of Illinois.

I am very glad to answer for myself that the theory of prohibition is sound. I believe also that the law is resulting on the whole, in good. In this problem, as in many similar problems, the duty of patience is necessary. I am a Maine man by birth. I know about the Maine law. It required more than a generation for the Maine law to come to a pretty fair enforcement. But the benefit of that law to the state of Maine was of unspeakable value. A similar value will belong to the whole country after a generation. But we must wait for the generation.—Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve University.

I think there are very few, if any, men engaged in the work of education who are genuinely concerned for the welfare of young people during their student lives, who do not welcome the strictest enforcement of the prohibition law.

A good many years ago, long before national prohibition went into effect, and some years before prohibition went into effect in Colorado, we were blessed here by the exile of all saloons from Boulder. At once we had occasion to see the good effects of this upon the members of the student body.

I do not think the matter is open to debate at al!.—George Norlin, President, University of Colorado.

It is very difficult to get a true expression of the opinion of educated men and college students with regard to prohibition. Usually their real opinion is hidden or disguised under a comic mask. Nevertheless, I believe that the great majority are

heartily in favor of prohibition in spite of the evils with which its introduction has been accompanied. What seems to me to be only a small minority are in favor of beer and light wines, but even those composing this minority would be in favor of the "bonedry" as opposed to the "wide open."—C. H. Clapp, President, State University of Montana, Missoula, Montana.

The immediate results for good are much greater than I expected. It seems little short of a miracle to pass through the slums of our great cities and the little pockets of misery in smaller towns and see the evident change for the better; and it is no less marvelous to note the decided change of public sentiment even in those places where the liquor traffic seemed most strongly entrenched.—William Goodell Frost, President of Berea College.

No attempt has been made to secure an opinion on behalf of our faculty and students on such matters as the one to which you refer. My personal opinion is that federal prohibition was premature. There ought to be a wider basis in public opinion for attempting any such radical change. There is not, and never has been, among our students a large amount of intemperance. There is, and always will be, among almost any student body, a certain amount of it. On the whole, I think that people in the city with whom I meet frequently believe that the purpose of national prohibition is desirable, but that the amendment at this time is, as I said, premature.—Harry Pratt Judson, President University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

It is a fact that many persons, including students, regard the violation of the Eighteenth Amendment in the light of sport. I believe, however, that a majority of the students and of the faculties are of the opinion that violations of the act should be discouraged and discountenanced by liberty-loving and law-abiding people everywhere. I am confident that that is the attitude of the vast majority of persons connected with the University of Minnesota.—L. D. Coffman, President of University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

The difficulties of getting an official expression of the opinion of our teachers and students are almost insuperable, and

would involve extended discussion and probably two or three majority and minority reports.

I have no hesitation, however, as an educator with rather unusual opportunities for knowing the opinion of this section and of the public generally, in giving you my own personal opinion, which is as follows:

In theory, American prohibition is wholly commendable, marks a long step in advance in the promotion of human welfare, has already immeasurably benefited the United States, and should by all means be retained.

In practice, however, I would say that in my judgment, circumstances conspired to put the amendment into the United States constitution from five to ten years too soon. Its enforcement is meeting with three formidable difficulties:

First, the natural hostility of millions of drinkers whose personal habits and desires have been suddenly and harshly interfered with.

Second, its enforcement, difficult at all times, has been undertaken during the years of universal revolt against all restrictions and conventions caused by the shake-up of the World War.

Third, and most important, its enforcement has been entrusted to two mutually jealous agencies, namely, the federal government and the local authorities.

In such states as Virginia, the latter is the most serious obstacle to enforcement. When United States revenue officers take up the task, the local officers not only feel absolved of responsibility, but are almost sure to lose sympathy and refuse cooperation.

I believe, however, that the present reaction against the law will steadily decrease as its enforcement becomes more universal and the people more law-abiding. Personally, I have no fear that the amendment will be repealed or its enforcement nullified.—Henry Louis Smith, President of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

The faculty and students of Willamette University, I am confident, have but one judgment concerning National Prohibibition: it is wholly desirable both in theory and fact, and the results of the National Amendment thus far justify the law and promise still better results in the future.

In the University we have never been greatly troubled by the students using liquor, although in former years we have occasionally been obliged to discipline students for drinking. Now this is a thing of the past, the city is quieter, the general tone of the community has improved, and that dark spot in the educational atmosphere is practically eliminated. Anything which tends to weaken the enforcement of this law is a serious thrust at all respect of order and a weakening of a most desirable advance in general progress.

Were the question to be put to a vote of faculty and students in Willamette University, there would assuredly not be 1 per cent desire a return to the old order.—C. G. Doney, President of Willamette University, Salem, Oregon.

Let me say there is but one opinion and that is most positively in favor of prohibition. Of course there are violations of the prohibitory act, so are there violations of the law against stealing and against murder, and it appears to me that the argument built upon the lack of strict enforcement has the same force as when applied to any criminal law. I do not think that there is any force that could induce Kansas to go back to the open saloon.—S. E. Price, President of Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas.

I do not know how to make a reply concerning the situation as to prohibition. I have no idea what our faculty and students think. I happen to know that there is a difference of opinion as I engage in conversation both with students and faculty. That same difference in opinion is found among citizens. There is no doubt about it that a large amount of clandestine work in the use of liquor has been going on because there was a good deal of profit in it. So long as men can make \$100 in the illicit sale of liquor and pay a fine of \$50 they will keep up the practice. The fact is that a great many otherwise respectable citizens seem to think it more or less creditable to engage in clandestine use of intoxicating liquors. It may be that this is a persistent effort to defeat the Constitution and the statutes by making them disreputable. As a matter of fact here in the University, the question is not discussed any more than any other social and political question. No doubt there have been some violations in a quiet w2y, but they have not been so notorious as to become public.

—W. O. Thompson, President, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

It is rather difficult to answer your question fully, I am sure that every member of our faculty and practically every one of our students is glad that the saloon has disappeared. There are possibly a few of our faculty and a considerably larger proportion of our students who regret that they cannot get liquor to drink when they want it. There is a little feeling that it was unwise to make prohibition so drastic and possibly this latter feeling is stronger than I apprehend. I am sure that among my acquaintances outside of the college there are many who greatly regret the severity of the present restrictions.

Occasionally, a few of our students get hold of some liquor, but since prohibition went into effect I think there have been no cases of drunkenness and where there has been some drinking it has been confined to a very few men, not over four or five at a time, and these occasions have been extremely rare. We do not have the trouble with drink here that many of the large eastern colleges do.—Charles S. Howe, President, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio.

I do not know of any way in which I could make any accurate answer in regard to the attitude of our faculty and students in regard to their thoughts on prohibition in theory and in fact.

The only comment that I can make is that which is based upon personal impression, rather than upon any scientific accumulation of data, which it would be difficult to secure.

My reluctant conviction is, however, that the code of the college can only be kept about so far in advance of the code of the social group from which the undergraduate body is drawn, and that, although there has probably never been so little use of liquor within the college as at the present time, the restraint is due wholly to an undergraduate sense of responsibility for the college name and not from any conviction in regard to the merits of the prohibition law. I am not sure what conclusion should be drawn from this fact, but I am quite clear that unless the prohibition law becomes more effective in fact, and unless the spirit of lawlessness in the country at large becomes subdued and the violation of the law becomes less, neither Dartmouth nor

any other college will be able permanently to maintain a condition largely contradictory to the social conditions with which the men are familiar in their home communities or in their social contacts outside the college.

In the last analysis, I think that the sentiment of the faculty and the undergraduate body on the subject of prohibition will not be very different from that of the constituency which makes up the better and more progressive communities representative of American life. My great concern for the college is that there seems to be no adequate support for the theory of the prohibition law which will enable it to be sufficiently observed in practice to make its results avoid the appearance of futility. In other words, I would prefer, if forced to the alternative, to have our men grow up with increased rather than lessened respect for the law, even if this involved some changed conditions in the prohibition requirements which make the law more possible of enforcement.—Ernest M. Hopkins, President, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

Regarding the question, "What do the faculty and students of our institution and our acquaintance think of prohibition in theory and fact?" will say:

- 1. a. Theory. Theoretically, prohibition is built on a sound economic basis, namely the elimination of waste and material consumed in the manufacture of liquors, the time of laborers manufacturing the same, waste of capital invested in the production of the same and the wastage of human life as a result of the consumption of the same.
- b. Theoretically, it is sound from the standpoint of the social worker, comprehending the law of the Nazarene that the strong should bear the infirmities of the weak and lifting the moral tone of community life to a higher level.
 - 2. a. Fact. It is reducing the amount of liquors consumed.
- b. It puts the liquor business under the ban so that young men do not consider it genteel to partake.
- c. The elimination of the saloon removes the power of suggestion to the public mind.
 - d. It reduces crime.
 - e. It works.

Count on us for any help we may be able to give.—Frank E. Mossman, President, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

I would say that all our faculty and at least 99 per cent of our students believe that national prohibition is desirable, judged from the standpoint of public welfare, and that it is working as well as can be expected considering that the habits of a people are perhaps the most difficult of matters for law to deal with. It is their belief that the majority of public opinion is behind the present law and that it will become increasingly effective, producing in the next generation a people practically free from the waste and degradation that has always accompanied the use of strong drink. Our student body is practically free from the use of intoxicating liquor.—Samuel Plantz, President, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin.

I hear on various sides the statement that prohibition is a failure: that conditions are worse than ever before and the like. On the contrary, I have read with great satisfaction an article in the Sunday Times in January by a man who was appointed from England to investigate conditions throughout the United States. As you know, the Times is not for Prohibition and the writer of that article is not on advocate of prohibition. He goes into details which show that conditions are far better than the liquor propaganda seeks to indicate. That is my own conviction.

I find that some good men are misled by liquor propaganda and are expressing the idea that prohibition tends toward lawlessness. However, the liquor business has been nothing but

lawless as long as I can remember.

The same forces which have brought about the Constitutional Amendment will fight through to the enforcement of that article of the Constitution and the laws which support it. No one need suppose that the enormous weight of sentiment which carried the amendment through forty-five states will fail to carry this enterprise through successfully.—William Lowe Bryan, President, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the the United States may have been due in large measure to the industrial concern of manufacturers and employers over the effects of liquor upon efficiency of employees; but to a degree it rests upon ethical grounds. The American students, by their unceasing agitation in public speech and press, made popular opinion along both industrial and ethical lines. Their efforts had unquestionable influence.

Students realize that no law can be enforced beyond the willingness of the people to obey the law. Millions of people did not favor the abolition of slavery and it died out slowly under forms like compulsory labor and the like. It will take some time for the sentiment of all the people to be in favor of obeying the law abolishing liquors. College students as a body will help to enforce it as they helped to secure it.—Edwin E. Sparks, President Emeritus. Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

I find it extremely difficult to answer your letter of the 3rd inst. I should say that a majority of our faculty and students believe, in theory, in prohibition. We do not yet see that there is a very great deal of difference in the actual amount of drinking done since the passage of the constitutional amendment making for national prohibition. We have always had prohibition in Maine, spasmodically enforced. At the present time the situation in colleges it seems to me is very difficult, because the price of good liquor is so exorbitant that no undergraduate ought to purchase it, and bad liquor is very dangerous to health. Here at Bowdoin I should say there is a slight improvement possibly since the introduction of national prohibition but by no means an abolition of all drinking.—Kenneth C. M. Mills, President, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

I have had the situation regarding the sentiment in respect to Prohibition in Macalaster College canvassed rather thoroughly. The verdict, rendered by the institution, both faculty and students, is favorable to Prohibition in theory and in fact. We believe that the law is a good one and since it is a law that all efforts possible should be made to enforce it.—Elmer Allen Bess, President, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota.

I regret that I am not informed as to the opinion of the faculty and students of the Georgia School of Technology concerning prohibition in theory and fact. Personally, I strongly favor prohibition, and think the need for its enforcement is greater than ever before. As a citizen and as a teacher I strongly favor the rigid enforcement of the existing law, and in my judgment a great majority of our citizens are in accord with this sentiment.— K. G. Matheson, President, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia.

I have your letter of March 3 inquiring as to the opinion of the faculty and students of Vanderbilt University regarding prohibition both as a theory and as a fact. I recognize the right of your association to make an investigation of this kind, and for that reason only do I reply. I would not feel like making any answer to an inquiry of this kind from a less responsible source.

My first observation is that no referendum has been taken in this institution on this subject, and no one is, therefore, authorized to say what the faculty and students think. All that I can do is to give you my indivdual judgment. That I will do under just a few heads briefly developed.

- (1) College sentiment here as elsewhere generally favors prohibition as a theory, but many thoughful people fail to sympathize with the present enactments of the United States on this question. This is a long story and you are familiar with every phase of the question. It is enough to say that there are many students who believe in prohibition who do not believe in the wisdom of our present enactments.
- (2) The opinion of most colleges regarding prohibition as a fact is that there is no such fact. It is a matter of common and universal knowledge that the present laws are not enforced and most people think they, cannot be enforced. Others think that these laws may be obeyed in some remote time in the future after education has done its work. The opinion of these men is that the task of prohibitionists today is not different from what it has been in all past years, namely, to build up a sentiment opposed to drinking.
- (3) Student sentiment does not regard the violation of the present prohibition law as any great offense. They apply toward these laws the same principle that they apply to many of the regulations of school, which is that the existence of the regulation is an invitation to a student to violate it.
- (4) Because of these facts the problem of dealing with drinking and drunkenness among students has not in any degree been lessened by present prohibition laws. I am personally of the opinion that these problems are even more difficult and more acute than they were before the passage of national prohibition. I presume every college that is trying to assume responsibility for the moral conduct of the students is finding the greatest possible difficulty in handling this question. If through your

investigation you can make our task easier or render our labors more successful, you will merit the abiding gratitude of all college administrative officers.—J. H. Kirkland, President, Vanderbilt University, Nashville. Tenn.

The faculty and students of Mercer University are unanimous in their approval of Prohibition, both in theory and in fact. The law is being enforced better with each passing month. The reaction following the war resulted in an increase of violations of the Volstead act, but these violations are now being limited to the worst element in the so-called upper classes and the worst elements in the lower classes.—Rufus W. Weaver, President, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia.

I do not know that it is profitable to discuss the theory of prohibition. It is beginning to be a fact and is more of a fact as time continues. There isn't any question but that college administration is easier under present conditions. The drink problem in student life has almost disappeared and will soon be a thing of the past. Having been for many years in active work with students, I can say without hesitation that the benefits of prohibition to American colleges and universities have been great.

Lest I should be misunderstood I want to add that the problem has not entirely disappeared, but with continued vigilance it will appear and that will be a blessing.—H. M. Gage, President, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

I find myself unable to answer satisfactorily your inquiry about the opinion of the faculty and students of this college on prohibition in theory and fact. There has been no occasion to draw out an expression of opinion either from the faculty or from our students.

I am, however, justified in saying that we have an overwhelming sentiment in favor of law and order, including respect for the national prohibition legislation.—C. A. Duniway, President, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

I am on leave of absence from president's office this year, and in any case I think that I could hardly attempt to express the thought of the faculty and students of Rutgers College concerning prohibition in theory and fact. I can only say for myself that prohibition seems to me entirely right in theory and entirely right in enactment in view of existing conditions and the desired welfare of society. Its enactment I have not the slightest doubt will stand and obedience to it in due time become well established. The thing most to be regretted at the present moment is the attitude of many excellent citizens in more or less condoning disregard of law and assisting to spread the idea that prohibition enactment, rather than lawlessness, is the cause of the evils now afflicting us.—W. H. Demarest, President. Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

The result of the prohibition years is a clear demonstration that both in "theory and in fact" it is working well from a university standpoint. The whole problem of discipline has been both simplified and lessened; the morale of student bodies has been improved and the number of men dropped because of misconduct greatly reduced. What is true of the university is also true of the community in almost as marked a degree. Even lax enforcement of the law cannot obscure its value. I am very confident that a large percentage of my colleagues upon the faculty would subscribe to these statements.—Stanley Coulter, Acting Chairman of the Faculty, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

As you, of course, know, prohibition in Oregon was voted by the people some time before the Volstead act was passed by Congress. Under a state option law, Benton county, in which we are located, had been "dry" for a number of years prior to the time when prohibition was adopted by the state. In fact, it has been some twenty years since saloons were voted out in this county.

There is no division of sentiment among the members of the faculty on the question of prohibition, either in theory or fact. The student body, numbering upwards of 3,800, also accepts it as a matter of course and so far as I know, there is no sentiment among students against prohibition. So far as we are concerned, prohibition is no experiment; it is an established fact to go back to the open saloon would be regarded as a calamity.—W. J. Kerr, President, Oregon Agricultural College, Corvallis, Oregon.

North Dakota has always been a prohibition state and her people are generally, if not almost unanimously, in favor of Prohibition. I am sure that the teachers and students of this institution and all the state institutions generally, are in hearty sympathy with the eighteenth amendment and wish to see the Volstead law enforced as thoroughly and as efficiently as possible. Teachers and students have no sympathy with the idea that because the law is violated by a few people, it should be repealed.—C. A. Allen, President, State Teachers College, Valley City, North Dakota.

(Excerpt from letter read before the Committee on Legal

Affairs, February 17, 1922.)

In the first place I reiterate what I said nearly a year ago before the then Committee on Legal Affairs as follows: Let Massachusetts at once take her whole share in putting into execution these prohibitory measures, which are sure to promote public health, public happiness, and industrial efficiency throughout the country, and to eliminate the chief causes of poverty, crime and misery among our people.

During the year which has elapsed, evidence has accumulated on every hand that Prohibition has promoted all over the country public health, public happiness, and industrial efficiency. This evidence comes from manufacturers, physicians, nurses of all sorts, school, factory, hospital and district, and from social workers of many races and religions laboring daily in a great variety of fields. This testimony also demonstrates beyond a doubt that Prohibition is actually sapping the terrible force of disease, poverty, crime and vice. These results are obtained in spite of the imperfect enforcement in some communities of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The Eighteenth Amendment was adopted by an immense majority of the American people, because millions of voters became convinced somewhat suddenly that alcoholism was the chief factor in the deterioration of the white race which had been going on ever since distilled liquors became cheap, some three centuries ago. The people came to see clearly that alcoholism and prostitution will ruin our race, unless they are successfully resisted, because that physical ruin is apt to be passed down from generation to generation.—Charles William Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University.

BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at Indianapolis, adopted the following statement:

The Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have noted the present discussion of the Volstead act and of the Eighteenth Amendment to our Constitution. Such discussion was to be expected. Ingenuity would be exhausted to discover or invent reasons for the repeal of the laws. Allowing that all the results anticipated have not been realized, that fact lies not against the law but against those who have failed in its enforcement and against those who have encouraged the betrayal of administrative trust. When all has been said, the accomplishment in the writing of these particular laws makes the greatest chapter in America's history of moral reform. It has attracted the attention of the world. It has given to our industrial life an advantage recognized by economists everywhere.

The relation of the drink traffic to crime has long been familiar. We need to see that the disrespectful treatment of prohibitory laws is not a mere academic impropriety. The great objectives of civilization can not be gained where lawlessness goes unpunished and unrebuked. Mob violence is today a menace which demands most careful thought and wisest treatment. The ability to suppress or prevent disorder which jeopardizes the rights of property and life is one of the ultimate tests of civilization.

Obedience to law is not an elective to be rendered or refused on the basis of individual or group choice. This we believe. But it is inconsistent to inveigh against the spirit of lawlessnes in other fields if in our attitude toward prohibitory enactment we encourage contempt of law. Those who make public opinion must be held accountable for the total result when inconsiderate criticism of laws induces insult to laws. The press of this country must be made to see its responsibility inescapable if its persistent caricature of so-called temperance laws lead the immature to believe that law itself belongs really and only in the comic supplement.

Where present legislation seems inadequate, let it be perfected. Where the law is ineffectual, find the cause and, as quickly as may be, remedy it. Let us insist upon it that those who are sworn to uphold the Constitution deal with occasion

not as propagandists of personal judgment but as defenders of the law.

Let us choose for office those only who have by word or act established their right of recognition as the friends of prohibitory reform, and saying this, we would record appreciation of the help given to this cause by the President of the United States and by the Chief Justice and we would pay tribute to those in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States and to those in other places of public trust who have taken and held their place on the side of national morality.

For the sake of the nation and the world, in the interest of industrial prosperity as of peace and order, for the promotion of all the ends of education and religion, we accept for ourselves and urge upon all our people the solemn obligation to guard sacredly the results already gained and to complete the work upon which so many lovers of mankind have wrought anticipaing with confidence the day when, despite the cupidity of some and the treasonable intrigue of others, the life of the nation shall be lifted to the level of its laws.—Luther B. Wilson, Secretary.

By the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Indianapolis, Ind., June 24, 1922.

FROM BISHOP EDWIN S. LINES

(From an address before the Protestant Episcopal Convention of the Diocese of Newark, on May 16, 1922.)

Referring to the Prohibition amendment Bishop Lines said: It was adopted as other amendments have been adopted and it is binding upon us until repealed as the Constitution itself requires. They are not worthy of respect who would repeal the laws which enforce a part of the fundamental law of the land. We all know that many officials tell us that the laws can not be enforced while they do not seriously endeavor to execute them. I quite appreciate the difference of opinion both as regards the wisdom of placing this subject in the Constitution and as regards some of the methods used to enforce it. But the trade in strong drink with its disregard of fair regulation, its corruption of our political life, its destruction of what is best in human life, has received what it deserved and drawn its punishment upon itself.

Much of the talk about the restriction of personal liberty is unworthy of respect. The talk of many people living in luxury in great houses with more than their share of the world's good things, about the wrong done to the poor by Prohibition is ridiculous. The gulf between the privileged and unprivileged must be bridged in some other way than by common freedom to obtain strong drink.

BISHOP WILLIAM LAWRENCE

(From a report made by Bishop William Lawrence of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, to the Diocesan Convention in Boston, May 4, 1922.)

Jealousy for the practical integrity of the constitution was what led many citizens to oppose this amendment. The fact is however, that the constitutional amendment stands; and it has been carried through by the same constitutional steps as preserve our liberties. Every local citizen is bound to stand by it; and in my judgment every loyal citizen is bound to support such state laws as will insure its enforcement.

Beyond this plan duty as citizens, what reasons have we to be confident that this great experiment will succeed, and that the whole of the American people will in time agree that the prohibition of intoxicating drink is, with all its limitations of personal libery, worth while?

First, and most obviously, the competition in industry and of industrial nations with other industrial nations is going to be very keen, and the people which waste most in brains, physical strength and character will go to the wall first. Every employer of labor knows that the men who drink are in the long run less efficient than those who do not drink.

Experience in the army and navy proves it in endurance and fighting tests. The directors of railroads, mines and factories, the officers of banks and business enterprises know this.

This principle of industrial efficiency is of course based upon laws or habits of nations revealed to us in the last fifty years by science. . . .

Every intelligent man today knows, or may know, that for even moderate drinkers the curve, be it ever so slight, is never upwards—always downwards. And further, the reactions affect the judgment, the intellectual perspective and the power

to discriminate between right and wrong, the very foundation of character.

We in these days believe in the inerrancy of facts which science, when it has tested them out, brings us; and we know that these facts bring results as sure as fate. The nation which completely stops drinking intoxicating liquors has thrown off one of the heaviest weights in the race for industrial leadership. . .

The practical universal testimony of the men and women who touch most closely thousands on thousands of people whose conditions tempt them to the abuse of intoxicating drinks is that there is an immense improvement all along the line. Here and there there may be a local or temporary reaction; but the multitude of wives and husbands, too, and children that are the happier and healthier for prohibition, the decrease of numbers of arrests for drunkenness, of inmates of jails and poorhouses, the gratitude that goes up from thousands of homes of the people of moderate means and the well-to-do that one or another member of the family has stopped drinking and gone to work is enough, one would think, to touch the heart of anyone.

I need not speak of the relief from taxation in the support of public institutions—a taxation which will steadily decrease, for with the enforcement of prohibition there will be fewer feeble-minded, fewer insane, fewer cripples, fewer congenitally diseased, fewer with abnormal habits, fewer with criminal tendencies; and this taxation like all taxes, falls in the end not upon the well-to-do, but upon the whole people, especially the wage earners.

How can any Christian man or woman, anyone with consideration for others, continue an indulgence which he may even think harmless, when by his abstention he may help others? And even if he thinks it makes no difference, how can he be happy in taking the chance? Is his pleasure or even his sense of liberty worth the risk?

However, with the fact settled that constitutional prohibition is here, all loyal citizens will give it support. And if we do our part, we may be confident that education in health and efficiency, of economics and industrial leadership will in time bring universal acquiescence.

BISHOP ROBERT L. PADDOCK

Our church here, like all others, every lodge, labor union, and other organization, stands 100 per cent behind this federal amendment and the whole Constitution. No one could conceive of our doing otherwise. Religion, morality, intelligence, business—every good cause has been furthered. Some day, my native town, New York, where I spent all my ministry before coming to this frontier, will be civilized enough to fight for it also.—Robert L. Paddock, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Eastern Oregon.

HONORABLE RICHARD J. HOPKINS

(Former Attorney General of the State of Kansas, now member of the State Supreme Court.)

The advantages of prohibition on the general welfare of the people have been so marked that public sentiment has continued to grow in favor of strict prohibition. It is safe to say that niney-five per cent of the people favor it. With this public sentiment and the cooperation of all officials, peace officers, especially sheriffs, and the police we hope for the ultimate extinction of all liquor violations. Kansas now as at no other time has its full heart and soul set against the liquor traffic.

The prohibition laws, in my opinion, attest the moral and religious progress of the human race. If drunkenness has added any moral help to mankind, the proof has never been produced. The liquor traffic does not create wealth. The liquor interests have always been on the wrong side of every public question. They have always been opposed to civilizing and decent influences. Their influence kept the saloon on all of the best corners during the days of our fathers, but those days have passed. Prohibition is not here on a visit; it has come to stay and wise men will so perceive and act accordingly.

Intemperance has been the greatest curse to the human family since the early years of history. One of the great mysteries is that a civilized people would permit it to continue so long.

Prohibition in Kansas greatly reduced the number of criminal cases. It reduced the number of people in jails and penitentiaries, the paupers in county houses and insane asylums. It increased school attendance. There are thousands of youths in Kansas who never saw a whisky saloon.

The splendid conditions that have come about in this state

through prohibition should be brought about in all the civilized countries of the world. The betterment of world civilization and human welfare demand prohibition—Richard J. Hopkins, (Former Attorney General of the State of Kansas, now member of the State Supreme Court.)

JOHN WANAMAKER

(Statement made a short time before his death, in 1922.)

An expression of opinion has been requested from me in regard to the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

There can be no real difference of opinion regarding the necessity for the enforcement of this law, as well as any other law that has been placed upon the statute books of the nation. To enforce one and not another is to breed disrespect for all law and weakens the whole fabric of our government.

The Prohibition Amendment was adopted in the manner prescribed by our Constitution. It was not a hurried proceeding, or taken upon snap judgment, but was long foreshadowed by the Prohibition legislation enacted by the various states.

It was peculiarly fitting that Prohibition should have come previous to the amendment giving suffrage to the women, who are now our real partners in life. What a humiliation it would have been to have invited our mothers, wives and daughters to cast their votes in saloons, as was so often the case, and in an atmosphere of liquor and drunkenness.

Personally, I believe in Prohibition, because in a long experience I have seen the evil and degrading effects of the liquor traffic, and do not believe that it can be safely played with any more than can dope or dynamite.

I do not think that the American people will ever want to go back to the old regime, but if there are those who think otherwise, the same orderly procedure is open to them that took place in enacting the Prohibition Amendment.

I write this in no spirit of censoriousness, but what I conscientiously feel and believe to be for the greatest good and happiness of our common heritage.—John Wanamaker.

BERNARD SHAW

(Reported by the New York Herald London Bureau, Feb. 11, 1922.)

Prohibition will not be an election issue in the future because

it will be assumed that any person who differs from it will be ruled out either as a lunatic or a criminal. . . .

You have had an early stage of society that tolerated murder. There was once a great deal of private choice about it but there isn't now. Already the sale of gin has been restricted considerably. Once one could get drunk on gin for a penny, dead drunk for two pence. Does even the most enthusiastic advocate of personal liberty wish to go back to that?—Bernard Shaw.

MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON

It is remarkable that there should be a question about the enforcement of the laws applying to the Prohibition Amendment. A law is a law and all good citizens should abide by law. In a republic people make their own laws and the majority rules. It laws touch us personally, if they affect our property, or what we may think to be our rights, it gives no privilege to break them. The law-abiding citizen is the hope of the republic. This is true of all laws and of course it applies to Prohibition as well as to anything else.

I am and always have been in favor of anything which would modify, curb or prohibit traffic in liquor. Believing in temperance in the highest sense and in the enforcement of any law, how could I think else than that all laws pertaining to Prohibition should be enforced?—Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee.

DOCTOR W. W. KEEN

Prohibition has brought about less drunkenness in this country, less poverty, less crime, fewer accidents and lesser expenses to the city and state as well as a betterment of standards of health and living. Alcohol has been the principal root of infractions of the law and of accidents. Alcohol is the most powerful and frequent source of immorality and venereal disease.—W. W. Keen, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN M. YOUNG

(PRESIDENT, SWEET'S STEEL COMPANY)

Anything that has been said in favor of Prohibition in days gone by, in my judgment, has been fully confirmed by the experience through which we are now passing. While there may be drawbacks in a general way (which I am disposed to think are magnified to the fullest extent that the conditions will allow), as far as the concrete results coming under my observation as a manufacturer, they are all to the good. We have less lost time, fewer accidents and greatly improved social conditions in the fimilies of our employees and their environments. The best results of radical changes such as this are brought about by evolution, rather than revolution, and I look for an improving condition as the years go by.—John M. Young, President, Sweet's Steel Company, Williamsport, Pa.

J. W. MARSH

(PRESIDENT, STANDARD UNDERGROUND CABLE CO.)

My observation of the effect of Prohibition has been that it is an incalculable economic and moral blessing to millions of our people, and to the nation as a whole. There is far less drunkenness and waste of time and money, there is greater steadiness among laborers, more saving of money, better care of the homes and women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink.

No conscientious man would vote to bring the liquor traffic back, and I am sure that there are very many men who are not Prohibitionists themselves, but who would nevertheless vote against the repeal of the Prohibition laws because they have observed and recognized the great benefits that such laws have brought to our people.—J. W. Marsh, President Standard Underground Cable Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

DOCTOR HOWARD A. KELLY

My daily life brings me into constant close touch with doctors from all parts of our country and Canada and the testimony virtually universal is that the benefits of Prohibition are everywhere manifest even with an imperfect and often half-hearted law enforcement. I have not changed my views, therefore, that the events of these several years have demonstrated the greatest criminals of our nation, the organizers and inspirers of crime, the determined foes of society and its legitimate authority, the insidious debauchers of the agents of the Department of Justice, are not the drunkards (God pity them!) nor yet the

saloons, those club-houses of the criminal classes and of corpolitics. The greatest foes of our government are some bre and distillers who inspire law-violating propaganda in to dishonor the nation that they may fill their pockets gold.

As touching my own profession, the best sentiment of cated physicians is against the use of liquor as a medicamen sturdily against the reintroduction of light wine and —Howard A. Kelly, M. D., Baltimore, Md.

HENRY FORD

I have always been opposed to all forms of intoxicants. wine, and liquor never did any one any good and they caused great suffering and misery in the world. So far a plants are concerned we're going to stamp out this busines the government hasn't enough men to do it we have. An should be a warning to those making intoxicants and s them to our men—and to our men themselves that we wi tolerate present conditions longer.—Henry Ford.



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